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NODIS/HARVAN/DOUBLE PLUS

By One NARA Date 8-11-91

For Ambassador Bunker from the Secretary.

1. You will see from the report of today's session in Paris that we have committed ourselves in principle to a secret minute if we can get agreement on the language and on the timing. We cannot of course say whether the DRV would ever make that minute public, and some parts of it may serve as a useful hedging against that--to the extent that any of it would bother us in any event.

However, we must certainly operate on the assumption that it would be made public at some time, and we need your urgent judgment on the present text and on changes that we might propose in Paris tomorrow. Since time may be of the essence, we would like your own reaction to reach us during the evening tonight, just as soon as possible, on two questions: (1) The probable acceptability to the GVN of what we might now propose; and (2) whether you believe that formal GVN clearance should be obtained before

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The Secretary

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we ourselves indicate our final approval.

2. For ready reference, the text that Thuy is now proposing would be as follows:

A. ~~On the basis of our discussions, the US will stop without~~
conditions all air, naval, and artillery bombardment and all other
acts involving the use of force on the entire territory of the DRV
on (date and time).

B. In order to find a peaceful settlement to the Viet-Nam problem,
a meeting including (representatives of) the DRV, NLF, US, and RVN
will be held in Paris on (date and time).

3. We would press in the above paragraph A:

a. Preferably to delete "without conditions" entirely.

b. If a maximum effort failed, as a final fall-back, to change
"without conditions" to "without pre-conditions" ("sans
conditions préalables" in French). You will note that this language
would imply the existence of conditions subsequent. Moreover, if
Hanoi should ever try to use the language to avoid what we have said
about their military actions, we could counter by saying that the
language meant there was no condition as to the duration of the
stopping of the bombing either.

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4. We would propose to change paragraph B to take both Thuy's language (revised) and our own formula (Deptel 260480), so that it would read as follows:

B. It is agreed that a meeting to find a peaceful settlement to the Viet-Nam problem will be held in Paris on (date and time). The US has indicated that the Republic of Viet-Nam will be present, and the DRV has indicated that the NLF will be present. Accordingly, the meeting will include representatives of the US, RVN, DRV, and NLF.

5. In this same paragraph B, we would also like your judgment whether it would help with the GVN to have the order begin "RVN, US." Finally, we would like your judgment whether we should make another effort to get the sentence: "The foregoing in no way implies recognition of those represented at the meeting."

6. On the timing question, we would propose to offer, as our firm position, that--with the meeting agreed for 10:00 a.m. on Saturday, November 2--the bombing would stop on Wednesday midnight, Saigon time. In that case, the announcement might be made Thursday morning, Saigon time, which would be Wednesday evening, our time.

GP-1.

End.

RUSK!

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